Chapter 3 Reconciling Nationalist Loyalties

Figure 3-1 According to an old saying, everybody loves a parade — and the photographs on this page seem to suggest that this is true. All show people at parades that are celebrating an aspect of a group's collective identity. Which parade would you be most interested in attending? Does your choice reflect an aspect of your identity or a desire to enjoy a celebration of other people's identity — or something else?

CHAPTER ISSUE

To what extent should people reconcile their contending nationalist loyalties?

MOST PARADES, like those shown in the photographs on the previous page, are lighthearted expressions of aspects of a community's collective identity. A parade gives people a chance to say, "Hey, everyone, look at us!" Whether the parade includes marching bands, calypso music, Irish dancers, Chinese dragons, or rodeo stars on horses, it is an opportunity for people to express aspects of their identity — with a little fun thrown in.

A parade may also provide a way for members of a community to connect with others, who may or may not be part of that community.

Examine the photographs on the previous page, then respond to the following questions:

- If a nationalist loyalty is a commitment to one's nation, which, if any, of the pictured parades express nationalist loyalties?
- If a non-nationalist loyalty is a commitment to other aspects of people's identity, which, if any, of the pictured parades express non-nationalist loyalties?
- Can the same parade express both nationalist and non-nationalist loyalties? Explain your response.
- Which parades express loyalties — nationalist or non-nationalist — that you embrace?
- Would you attend a parade that does not directly express a loyalty you embrace? Why or why not?
- Would you attend a parade that expresses a loyalty that conflicts with your own? Why or why not?

KEY TERMS

contending loyalties

cultural pluralism

reasonable accommodation

sovereignists

federalists

reconciliation

royal commission

LOOKING AHEAD

In this chapter, you will develop responses to the following questions as you explore the extent to which people should reconcile their nationalist loyalties:

- How do nationalist loyalties shape people's choices?
- What choices have people made to affirm nationalist loyalties?
- How can nationalist loyalties create conflict?
- How have people reconciled contending nationalist loyalties?

My Journal on Nationalism

Examine a calendar that lists Canadian holidays. Select a pair of holidays that seem to celebrate contending nationalist loyalties. Could someone celebrate both? Responding to this question may help you think of ideas to use as you express your evolving point of view on nationalism. Record these ideas in your journal, notebook, learning log, portfolio, or computer file. Date your ideas so that you can return to them as you progress through this course.

How do nationalist loyalties shape people's choices?

One synonym for loyalty is "commitment" — the act of staying true to an idea, a cause, a nation, a person, or even yourself. People sometimes demonstrate their loyalty publicly. British prime minister Winston Churchill did this during World War II, when he vowed in a famous speech that Britain would "never surrender" to Hitler and fascism. But loyalty does not need to be displayed publicly. It can be low-key and long term, as in the quiet commitment of two people who are united in a lifelong relationship.

Other synonyms for loyalty are "allegiance," "faithfulness," "devotion," "fidelity," "steadfastness," and "attachment." Which of these synonyms best reflects what loyalty means to you? Think of an example in your own life to illustrate the synonym you chose. If it is not too personal, explain your example to a partner — or you may record it in your journal.

We shall not flag or fail. We shall go on to the end. We shall fight in France, we shall fight on the seas and oceans, we shall fight with growing confidence and growing strength in the air. We shall defend our island, whatever the cost may be. We shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the landing-grounds, we shall fight in the fields and in the streets, we shall fight in the hills. We shall never surrender!

— Winston Churchill, prime minister of Britain, in a speech to the British House of Commons, June 1940

Loyalties and Choices

When you are faced with a choice, loyalties can play a role in the decisions you make. Choices based on loyalty can range from easy decisions that require little thought to difficult decisions that require great sacrifice. Suppose, for example, that a friend asks you to help her defend herself against an unfair accusation. Would showing your loyalty to your friend in this way be a hard choice to make?

Then suppose that two good friends of yours are running for the same office on your school's students' council. Both expect your support. You are torn because you feel loyalty to both, but you can vote for only one of them. In a situation like this, how would you decide which loyalty is most important?

Some circumstances make it harder to be loyal than others, especially when showing loyalty seems to conflict with your own interests. Think, for example, about people who choose to become police officers and firefighters or to join the armed forces. Or people who make sacrifices to volunteer with groups such as Médecins Sans Frontières — Doctors Without Borders. How might choices to join organizations like these test a person's loyalties?

Figure 3-2 Psychotherapists with Médecins Sans Frontières help counsel women in a Pakistani village that was destroyed by an earthquake in 2005. Disasters like this earthquake can sometimes have a devastating effect on the emotional health of survivors. How does the psychotherapists' choice to help in Pakistan show a commitment to something beyond their own interests?

Patriotism and Loyalty

Patriotism can be understood as love of one's country or nation. Like love of people, patriotism shows itself in many kinds of behaviour, including loyalty. Love of people has inspired behaviour as varied as offering a gift of flowers and risking one's own life to protect loved ones. Similarly, patriotism has been known to inspire behaviour as varied as marching in a parade and risking one's life to defend the nation. Like love, patriotism is an emotion. Loyalty is a behaviour that can stem from patriotism.

Nationalist Loyalties and Choices

Nationalist loyalties rarely demand extreme sacrifice, such as that made by some Canadian soldiers who served in Afghanistan. Still, these loyalties can strongly affect people's decisions.

If you, for example, feel loyalty to the Québécois nation, you might choose to attend a parade celebrating la Fête nationale on June 24th. If you feel loyalty to the Siksika nation, you might choose to attend a powwow to express your sense of community If you feel loyalty to the country of Madagascar, you might choose to periodically check the Internet for the latest news from that country. If you feel loyalty to Canada, you might choose to join a political campaign to help a candidate win election.

Figure 3-3 People line Highway 401 to honour Master Warrant Officer Mario Mercier and Master Corporal Christian Duchesne, soldiers who were killed in Afghanistan in August 2007. Planes carrying bodies home from Afghanistan land at the military airfield in Trenton, Ontario. The bodies are then transported to Toronto, where autopsies are performed. At the urging of the public, the stretch of road between Trenton and Toronto was renamed the Highway of Heroes. What aspect(s) of nationalism does renaming this highway represent?

How Contending Loyalties Can Affect Choices

When you are faced with **contending loyalties** — loyalties that compete — choosing between them can be difficult. Suppose, for example, that you are invited to a friend's birthday lunch on Saturday. The invitation conflicts with your commitment to attend your younger sister's hockey game and your commitment to help members of your study group prepare a presentation for class on Monday morning. What loyalties might be involved in each of these commitments?

If you cannot rearrange plans, you must make a choice — and the importance you attach to various loyalties will play a role in this choice. Different people feel different loyalties that often contend for time, money, and emotions. Just as your life changes from day to day, so, too, do your loyalties and their relative importance to you. The same can be true when people feel loyalty to more than one nation.

Could a homecoming parade for Canadian soldiers be both a protest against war and a display of patriotism?

Reflect and Respond

In a small group, develop a scenario in which a person must choose among several loyalties. Identify the loyalties involved, as well as three possible courses of action. Create a list of criteria to help the person decide which loyalty should come first when making this particular decision. On your own, test the three options against your criteria and make a decision. Then return to the group, compare your results, and discuss how loyalties often shape the choices people make.

What choices have people made to affirm nationalist loyalties?

At some point, most people take action to declare or affirm a loyalty. When you were younger, for example, you might have traded friendship bracelets. As a high school student, you might wear a school ring or a T-shirt to show your commitment to your school community.

In the same way, people affirm their nationalist loyalties by taking specific actions — either individually or in a group. As an individual, you might, for example, wear a maple leaf pin while travelling. In a group, you might stand to sing the national anthem at hockey games and other gatherings.

Affirming First Nations Loyalties

In 1982, First Nations chose to affirm their status as nations by restructuring and reorganizing the National Indian Brotherhood — and renaming it the Assembly of First Nations. The AFN, they declared, is an association of the leaders of First Nation governments.

Was changing the name of the National Indian Brotherhood to the Assembly of First Nations really a significant action?

First Nations have insisted on maintaining their status as nations so that they can deal with the Canadian government on a nation-to-nation basis. Treaties, which were agreements between First Nations and the monarch, illustrate this relationship. Treaty 7, for example, was signed in 1877 and applies to a large part of southern Alberta. This treaty specifies that it is an agreement between "Her Majesty the Queen [Victoria] and the Blackfeet, Blood, Piegan, Sarcee, Stony, and Other Indian Tribes."

All in an Inuit Place Name

Names can be useful tools for affirming nationalist loyalties. The Inuit of South Baffin Island, for example, have started the South Baffin Place Names Project to record traditional Inuktitut place names. Inuktitut is the language of the Inuit. Inuktitut names were often ignored by Europeans, who gave their own names to places in the North.

Iqaluit, for example, is the capital of Nunavut. But for decades, it was known as Frobisher Bay — after Martin Frobisher, a 16th-century English adventurer who landed there while seeking the Northwest Passage. In 1987, the name was changed back to Iqaluit, which means "place of fish."

Like Iqaluit, other Inuit place names often reveal important information. Qimmisarnaq, for example, means "the place where you have to unhitch your dogs to go down." Many places in the North are now reverting to their original Inuktitut names.

The South Baffin Place Names Project plans to produce a map of the place names collected from Elders. How would this map be useful to Inuit? How might it affect Inuit perspectives on nationalism? What could it teach non-Inuit?

Students from the Nunavut Sivuniksavut training program are helping another naming initiative by combing through historical photographs at Library and Archives Canada in Ottawa. Called Project Naming, the goal of this program is to discover the identity of the many unnamed Inuit depicted in a huge collection of historical photographs taken in the North.

FYI

Some other Inuktitut place names and their meanings are

- Arviat — place of the bowhead whale
- Inuvik — place of man
- Pangnirtung — place of the bull caribou
- Qausuittuq — place with no dawn
- Tununiq — place that faces away from the sun
- Tuktoyaktuk — place where there are caribou
- Taloyoak — big caribou blind (stone corral)

Names and Inuit Identity

Many Inuit have also returned to using their Inuit names. Traditionally, Inuit had just one name. But in the late 1930s, the Canadian government decided that this made it too difficult to keep track of people and assigned a personal number to all Inuit.

For the next three decades, these numbers were used in dealing with the federal government. Some Inuit tell stories of teachers who used students' numbers rather than their names when taking attendance, and of letters that were addressed to a number, not a name. In 1969, the number system was abolished — and the Inuit were told that they must choose a last name in addition to their birth name.

Many governments assign numbers to citizens. You have a health card number, for example. Is assigning numbers simply a tool that promotes efficiency — or is there something sinister about it? Explain your response.

To the Canadian government . . . I was Annie E7-121 . . . E stood for east and W stood for west. We were given a small disc looped on a sturdy string, brown with black lettering. I only learned about last names when I went to school in Toronto in the early 1960s. My foster parents let me use their family name, so in Toronto I went by Annie Cotterill.

— Ann Meekitjuk Hanson, journalist, broadcaster, and commissioner of Nunavut, 1999

MAKING A DIFFERENCE

Kiviaq
Championing a People's Rights

MAKING A DIFFERENCE
MAKING A DIFFERENCE
MAKING A DIFFERENCE

In 1936, an Inuit boy was born in a hunting camp near Chesterfield Inlet, Nunavut. His Inuit number was E5-776. Three years later, his new stepfather moved the boy, one of the boy's sisters, and their mother to Edmonton. There, the stepfather gave the boy a new name: David Ward.

David Ward's childhood was miserable. His father forbade the family to speak Inuktitut at home, and the boy felt isolated and lost. "I lived in total confusion," he told Jim Bell of the *Nunatsiaq News.*

Bullied by other kids, he learned to box — and eventually became a Canadian champion. As a young man, he was also a talented football player who earned a spot on the Edmonton Eskimos, but his gridiron career was cut short by injury. He went on to be elected to Edmonton city council and later hosted a radio open-line show. In the 1980s, he returned to school to study law and became the first Inuit lawyer in Canada.

Only after hanging out his shingle as a lawyer did he begin to explore his Inuit heritage. He discovered family members in the North and applied to change his name to the one he had been given at birth: Kiviaq. This should have been a simple matter, but Kiviaq wanted to observe the Inuit tradition of using only one name — and this sparked a long legal battle with the federal government because officials demanded that he choose a first and last name.

Figure 3-4 In his younger days, Kiviaq was a prizefighter who won 108 of 112 career matches. In 2006, Inuit filmmaker Zacharias Kunuk produced a 60-minute documentary — titled *Kiviaq versus Canada* — about this Inuk's struggle to affirm Inuit traditions and rights.

As a lawyer, Kiviaq was able to fight this battle, and in 2001, he won the right to be known by his birth name alone.

Since then, Kiviaq has worked actively on behalf of the Inuit. In 2004, he started his latest struggle — a lawsuit demanding that Inuit be granted the same rights as First Nations, who have access to a long list of benefits, including money for post-secondary education. The former boxer describes this battle, which remains unresolved, as the biggest fight of his life.

Explorations

1. Zacharias Kunuk's documentary about Kiviaq is titled *Kiviaq versus Canada*. Does this title effectively capture the idea of contending nationalist loyalties? Explain why you do — or do not — think so.
2. For much of his life, Kiviaq had little contact with the Inuit. Even now, he cannot visit his family in Nunavut because he suffers from an illness that is made worse by the motion of moving vehicles. Does a person need to be immersed in a nation to be loyal to it? Explain your response.

National Loyalties in a Multicultural Society

CheckBack

You explored the concept of a civic nation in Chapter 1.

Most immigrants are aware that Canada is a civic nation — and this is a reason many people choose to immigrate to this country. They know that the law guarantees them the same rights as all other Canadian citizens.

Many newcomers are also attracted by Canada's reputation for **cultural pluralism** — encouraging collectives to affirm and promote their unique cultural identity. In Canada, multiculturalism is official policy. It is Canada's version of cultural pluralism. Diversity is celebrated, and all citizens are encouraged to honour their cultural heritage.

But the vision of Canada as a bilingual and multicultural society has also sparked debate about how far a pluralistic nation should go to accommodate and protect the rights of minorities. George Jonas, a Canadian writer and columnist who immigrated from Hungary, believes that Canada has gone too far and that multiculturalism has diminished the idea of Canada as a nation.

"One result of the multicultural model was a retreat from the principle that immigration should serve the interests of the host country first," Jonas wrote in *Great Questions of Canada*. "The host country came to be viewed less and less as a nation, a legitimate entity with its own culture, and more and more as a political framework for various coexisting cultures. Newcomers were encouraged not to regard themselves as immigrants seeking to fit, but as explorers, if not conquistadores, whose quest was to carve out a congenial niche in Canada for their own tribes, languages, customs, or religions."

Others disagree with Jonas. In *The Polite Revolution*, for example, John Ibbitson said that multiculturalism is Canada's strength. "What matters about the Canadian mythical self-image is that we finally have one: that after years of muddle and confusion . . . a picture of Canada emerged in the minds of Canadians, a picture of tolerance and diversity and creativity and good humour . . . that makes Canadians feel, on most days, good about themselves," Ibbitson wrote. "This is something that, until recently, we lacked. In some countries, it's called patriotism. It feels good."

Read the citizenship oath in "FYI." Is it necessary for immigrants to reject their cultural values and beliefs when they become Canadian citizens? Does the oath of citizenship require immigrants to reject other nationalist loyalties?

FYI

When immigrants become Canadian citizens, they are required to repeat the following oath:

I swear [or affirm] that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Second, Queen of Canada, Her Heirs and Successors, and that I will faithfully observe the laws of Canada and fulfil my duties as a Canadian citizen.

Should Canada demand that immigrants renounce past nationalist loyalties when they choose to become Canadian citizens?

Figure 3-5 Fans celebrate with the Argentinian soccer team after their 2–1 victory over the Czech Republic in the final game of the 2007 FIFA World Youth Championship. This tournament took place in Canada. Why do you think Canadians of Argentinian heritage felt comfortable about displaying their loyalty to Argentina in this way?

Expressing Non-Canadian Nationalist Loyalties

If you have ever changed schools, you will understand that it can take a while to feel as if you fit in. At first, you may be nervous about expressing loyalties that are part of your identity. A student who has moved to Calgary from Edmonton, for example, might not feel comfortable about publicly rooting for the Oilers or the Eskimos. But in time, this can change.

The same can be true of new Canadians. At first, immigrants may be more concerned with fitting in to their new environment. But in time, they come to feel more comfortable about expressing non-Canadian nationalist loyalties.

New Canadians from Madagascar, for example, might send humanitarian aid to their former homeland, cheer for Malagasy athletes at the Olympics, or join a Malagasy cultural organization. All these actions are ways of affirming a nationalist loyalty within a Canadian context.

Putting Multiculturalism to the Test

The vision of Canada as a diverse society has always sparked debate over how much immigrants should try to fit in. In recent decades, this debate has often focused on **reasonable accommodation** — a legal and constitutional concept that requires Canadian public institutions to adapt to the religious and cultural practices of minorities as long as these practices do not violate other rights and freedoms.

In the early 1980s, for example, a Sikh employee of the Canadian National Railway challenged a company safety rule requiring construction workers to wear hard hats. To put on a hard hat, the worker would have had to violate his religious beliefs by removing his turban. For many Sikhs, religious symbols carry a strong link to their sense of nation. In this case, the Supreme Court of Canada ruled that safety came first and that wearing a turban instead of a hard hat is not a reasonable accommodation.

A few years later, Baltej Singh Dhillon launched a similar challenge. Dhillon, an immigrant from Malaysia, was accepted into the RCMP's training program. But the force wanted him to cut his hair, shave his beard, and remove his turban so he could wear the Stetson that has been part of the Mountie uniform since 1873. For many Canadians, the RCMP uniform is a national symbol.

Dhillon argued that wearing a turban is a religious duty for Khalsa Sikh men. In 1990, the federal government agreed that allowing Sikh RCMP officers to wear a turban rather than a Stetson is a reasonable accommodation. Dhillon became a full-fledged RCMP officer — and the RCMP uniform evolved to accommodate new symbols.

Figure 3-6 Wearing a turban and sporting a beard, Baltej Singh Dhillon stands with classmates at his 1991 RCMP graduation ceremony. "What is it to be Canadian, I think, ultimately becomes what it is to be a citizen of this earth," Singh said in a CBC interview. "And Canada is, I believe, a petri dish for this world . . . we are a test sample. And how we do as a country is going to be judged globally." What do you think Dhillon meant?

Canada has never been a melting pot; more like a tossed salad.

— Arnold Edinborough, writer, editor, and founder of the Council for Business and the Arts in Canada, 1973

FYI

The Dhillon case was not the first time the RCMP had changed its traditional dress code. In 1974, when women were first allowed to become full-fledged constables, they were required to wear the standard red serge jacket with a skirt and high heels. In 1989, the rules changed again so that women could wear the same uniform as men.

Does changing a nation's symbols reduce citizens' nationalist loyalties?

Reasonable Accommodation and Nationalist Loyalties

Ever since Confederation, people have disagreed over whether the idea now known as reasonable accommodation supports or undercuts the shared sense of Canadian identity and belonging that is essential to developing nationalist loyalties. In 2006, for example, Prime Minister Stephen Harper told a United Nations forum that "Canada's diversity, properly nurtured, is our greatest strength." And the web site of the Department of Canadian Heritage says that in Canada, differences among people have been not only accepted, but also recognized as a source of strength.

The web site goes on to say, "It is in building a peaceful, harmonious society that diversity plays its most dynamic role. It challenges [Canadians] to adapt and relate to one another *despite* our differences, which encourages understanding, flexibility and compromise. This makes us resilient — able to accommodate different points of view and see different ways to solve problems."

But not everyone supports this view. Some commentators, such as writer George Jonas, former Reform Party and Canadian Alliance party leader Preston Manning, novelist and cultural commentator Neil Bissoondath, and University of Lethbridge sociologist Reginald Bibby, believe that Canada's multiculturalism policy divides Canadians and interferes with their developing a shared nationalist loyalty. Bibby, for example, has asked, "If what [Canadians] have in common is our diversity, do we really have anything in common at all?"

Web Connection

To find out more about multiculturalism and diversity in Canada, go to this web site and follow the links.

www.ExploringNationalism.ca

CheckForward

You will read more about reasonable accommodation in Chapter 16.

Figure 3-7 In 2003, Suzan Meyers, who was born in the United States, and Hawraa Hassouni, who was born in Iraq, became Canadian citizens and celebrated the occasion together. Though these two women were born into different cultures, both are now Canadians. If you were one of these women, what might have inspired you to make the choice to become a Canadian?

Reflect and Respond

Many people argue that Canadian governments and institutions, such as the RCMP, should make "reasonable" efforts to accommodate the varied religious and cultural practices of new Canadians. Changing the RCMP dress code to allow Baltej Singh Dhillon to wear a turban rather than a Stetson is an example of an accommodation that is considered reasonable.

List three key arguments in favour of making reasonable accommodations — and three arguments that show possible drawbacks.

How can nationalist loyalties create conflict?

When people's choices enable them to include more than one nationalist loyalty in their identity, these loyalties are compatible — they can coexist without conflicting. If you are a new Canadian citizen, for example, you might feel a strong loyalty to Canada at the same time as you feel a strong loyalty to your original homeland. You might show these loyalties by choosing both to keep up with the news from your country of origin and to attend a Canada Day celebration. Your two loyalties can coexist without causing you turmoil.

But nationalist loyalties are not always compatible. Their goals sometimes conflict. If you feel a strong loyalty to Canada at the same time as you feel a strong loyalty to Québec — and your loyalty to Québec leads you to believe that the province should become independent — you would have a hard time making choices that would satisfy both these loyalties.

With a partner, read the words of Alice Munro's fictional character in "Voices." Munro's character is explaining her contradictory feelings about her husband. Discuss the insights this excerpt might provide into the turmoil that contending nationalist loyalties can create.

I wished that I could get my feelings about Andrew to come together into a serviceable and dependable feeling. I have even tried writing two lists, one of things I liked about him, one of things I disliked . . . as if I hoped to prove something, to come to a conclusion one way or the other. But I gave it up when I saw that all it proved was what I already knew — that I had violent contradictions.

— Alice Munro, Canadian author, in "Miles City, Montana," 1986

July 1 in Newfoundland

Across the country, Canadians celebrate Canada Day in different ways. The celebrations vary from serious and patriotic to wild and wacky. But things are different for many Newfoundlanders. When they wake up on July 1, some may plan to attend a Canada Day celebration — but they may also plan to attend Memorial Day ceremonies.

In his online blog, Newfoundland-born comedian Rick Mercer described the mixed emotions Newfoundlanders may feel on July 1: "In one of those great Newfoundland-in-Confederation ironies, Canada Day is actually an official day of mourning in Newfoundland. You see, Canada just happens to celebrate its birthday on the anniversary of the bloodiest day in Newfoundland history."

When he wrote about the "bloodiest day in Newfoundland history," Mercer was referring to the Battle of Beaumont-Hamel, which occurred in 1916 during World War I. At the time, Newfoundland was a self-governing British dominion that had not yet joined Canada. The Newfoundland Regiment was nearly wiped out in this battle, which is as symbolic for Newfoundlanders as Vimy Ridge is for other Canadians.

FYI

On the morning of July 1, 1916, about 780 soldiers of the Newfoundland Regiment were ordered to advance against heavy machine gun and artillery fire at Beaumont-Hamel, France; 324 were killed, and hundreds more were wounded. Only 68 were able to report for duty the next morning. This battle marked the opening day of the disastrous Battle of the Somme, which lasted for months and was a dark time for the Allies.

Figure 3-8 These young soldiers signed up with the Newfoundland Regiment during World War I. Most were just a few years older than you are now. What contending loyalties might Newfoundlanders feel on July 1?

Contending Loyalties and Conflict

Contending nationalist loyalties can create conflict between peoples for many reasons. When two peoples, for example, want to live in the same territory and cannot reconcile — settle or resolve — their conflicting loyalties by diplomatic means, the result may be violence. This is the case in Israel, where both Jewish Israelis and Palestinians wish to control the same territory, to which both have historical, religious, spiritual, cultural, and geographic ties.

Nationalist loyalties can also come into conflict as a result of other equally strong forces, such as language rights, human rights, and natural resources. What loyalties, if any, would you consider worth fighting for? Explain your response.

Taking Turns

Do contending nationalist loyalties create conflict for you?

The students responding to this question are Amanthi, who lives in Edson and whose parents immigrated from Sri Lanka; Blair, who lives in Edmonton and whose heritage is Ukrainian, Scottish, and German; and Rick, who was born in the United States but moved to Fort McMurray with his family when he was 10.

Amanthi

Absolutely. My mother is the Canadian patriot in the family. We've just moved into a new house here in Edson, and Mum is decorating everything to be as "Canadian" as she can make it. My dad couldn't care less. He spends his evenings glued to his computer. He was a police officer in Sri Lanka, and he still e-mails his old pals every night. My parents are always arguing about how much time he spends on his computer — and about how much Mum spends on redecorating. But I think these arguments are really about their changing nationalist loyalties.

If I get the question, it's talking about allegiances to different nations, and my loyalty is to Canada — 100 per cent. My heritage is a bit of a mixed bag. I have ancestors who were Scottish, German, and Ukrainian. Some were farm folk, but most of them lived — and died — right here in Strathcona. At World Cup time, I might root for Scotland or Germany because of family ties, but if a Canadian team ever made the tournament, I'd be decked out in red and white for sure.

Blair

Rick

Contending loyalties? Are you kidding? I grew up in the United States, where you swear allegiance to the flag every day in school! When we went to baseball games, people actually sang the national anthem. And every July 4, my family draped a big flag across the porch. Why? Because we were good Americans — and weren't embarrassed to show it. Now I'm a dual citizen, American and Canadian, or maybe I should say Canadian and American. Which comes first? Sometimes, I'm not sure. There are lots of great things about Canada. But it really bugs me when my friends slag Americans for warmongering. Talk about stereotyping! I'm always explaining that there are just as many points of view on war and terrorism in the United States as there are in Canada. So, yeah, sometimes it's hard to separate my feelings for my birth country and my adopted country.

Your Turn

How would you respond to the question Amanthi, Blair, and Rick are answering? Which of the three are experiencing contending loyalties that affect their own identity? Which are experiencing conflict between people as a result of contending nationalist loyalties? Do you think these conflicts can be resolved?

Contending Loyalties in Québec

Québécois have a long history of grappling with contending nationalist loyalties. In 1995, a referendum on separating from Canada forced them to choose between their loyalty to Québec and their loyalty to Canada. An extraordinary 93.5 per cent of Québécois voted in this referendum. The results, in which the no side eked out a narrow victory, revealed that voters were nearly equally divided over how to reconcile these contending loyalties.

The Sovereignty Debate

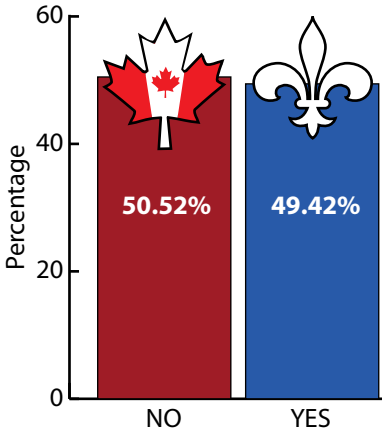
Sovereignists — people who support the idea of Québec's becoming an independent nation-state — believe that Québécois must control their own destiny. Lucien Bouchard, who was premier of the province from 1996 to 2001, summed up this perspective when he said, "In Québéc, we are a people, we are a nation, and as a nation we have a fundamental right to keep, maintain, and protect our territory." He also said that "Canada is divisible because it is not a real country. There are two peoples, two nations, and two territories. And this one is ours."

Who was Bouchard talking about when he said "we" and "our"? How might the Aboriginal peoples of Québec view his words? What about immigrants? Québec anglophones? Canadian Francophones living outside Québec?

Many Québécois who oppose sovereignty — sometimes called **federalists** because they believe that Québec should remain a Canadian province — say that the Québécois identity is inseparable from the Canadian identity. Raymond Giroux, editorial writer for *Le Soleil*, expressed this idea when he wrote:

> Our Canada was born in 1534, not in 1867. Therein lies the deep Canadian misunderstanding. There lies, also, the source of the division in Québec, torn between its old continental nationalism and its more recent, narrower, territorial nationalism.
>
> Do not forget that our ancestors roamed the Prairies, were the first among the European explorers to see the Rockies and travel the Mississippi River, wrote "O Canada," and used the maple leaf as a national symbol. It is not an easy task to eradicate a few centuries of national history. So even in a time of real political turmoil, Québécois still consider themselves Canadians and are not ready for what they see as a shameful retreat to the present boundaries of Québéc.

Figure 3-9 Québec Sovereignty Referendum Results, 1995



FYI

Many people, including Québécois, believed that the referendum question was not clear enough. Here is what the question asked:

Do you agree that Québec should become sovereign after having made a formal offer to Canada for a new economic and political partnership within the scope of the bill respecting the future of Québec and of the agreement signed on June 12, 1995?

Is the Québec sovereignty movement an example of ethnic nationalism?

Reflect and Respond

Work with a small group to create a slogan or symbol that celebrates Canada as a nation that draws its identity and strength from its diversity. Share your group's idea with other groups and the class.

Note the similarities among the slogans and symbols. As a class, discuss the significance of these similarities.

IMPACT

Québec — Focus of Francophone Nationalism in Canada

IMPACT

By the mid-20th century, Francophone Québécois were a tiny minority on a North American continent that was dominated by the English language and culture. TV shows, movies, and most of the music played on the radio were in English, and English was the language of most Québec workplaces.

In the face of these developments, Québec Francophones started raising the alarm. Ensuring the survival of their language and culture and their place in Québec's economy had become urgent challenges. They began to look for ways to protect themselves against assimilation into North America's dominant English-language culture.

Boost the Birthrate

A century earlier, in 1851, Québec's 890 000 people had made up about a third of Canada's total population. Most Québécois were Francophones. But in the following decade, 70 000 Québécois emigrated to the United States, lured by the promise of work in the many factories along the eastern seaboard. Others moved to Western Canada.

This out-migration amounted to eight per cent of Québec's total population — and 47 per cent of the total emigration from Canada. If Québécois continued to leave at the same rate, the survival of the French language and culture would be at risk.

In response, the Catholic Church, which played a dominant role in Québec, encouraged Francophone Québécois to continue living their traditional rural lifestyle — immersed in French and adhering to the Catholic religion. They were also encouraged to have large families as a way of boosting the province's Francophone population.

Left Behind

This strategy successfully maintained a large Francophone population. But it also opened the door for anglophones to dominate Québec business, even though they formed a minority of the province's population. In the 1960s, studies showed that the incomes of Francophone Québécois were the lowest in the province and that their earnings went up if they learned English. The world was changing, and the thousands of new terms entering the languages of science, industry, and business were nearly all English.

At the time, visitors could arrive in Québec and conduct all their business in English. They could speak English when buying goods in stores, ordering food in restaurants, and dealing with government officials. Immigrants who settled in the province could choose to send their children to schools where they were taught in English — and most did. Québec seemed to be at risk of losing its identity as a Francophone society.

Figure 3-10 René Lévesque, a former broadcaster who had been a member of the provincial Liberal party until breaking with that party in 1967, helped found the Parti Québécois and became its first leader in 1968. An ardent separatist, Lévesque led the PQ to power in 1976.

Ready for Change

By 1976, the Parti Québécois — a provincial political party with a sovereignist agenda — was offering solutions to the concerns of Francophone Québécois. That year, the province elected a PQ government.

In 1977, the PQ passed Bill 101, the Charter of the French Language. This controversial legislation built on earlier language laws and made French the only official language in the province. For many Québécois, the charter was an expression of nationalism. It declared that they intended to stop the erosion of their national identity by providing the tools necessary to affirm and promote their distinct language and culture.

Changes Brought about by Bill 101

French must be the language used

- in all workplaces
- in law courts and in writing laws and other legal documents
- on all commercial signs

Bill 101 and Québec Anglophones

Bill 101 shocked anglophone Québécois. Many said that the new language laws trampled on their individual rights as citizens of a bilingual Canada.

William Johnson expressed the fears of many anglophones when he told the *Montreal Gazette*, an English-language newspaper: "The banning of outdoor English signs . . . sends one clear message: English is not wanted, English is viewed as a threat, and the many harassments which have decimated the community will continue, perhaps intensified."

Many anglophones decided that they no longer had a future in Québec and left the province. Between June 1976 and June 1981, the number of anglophone Québécois decreased by more than 94 000. And estimates suggested that at least 42 major companies, including Sun Life Insurance and Redpath Industries, had shifted their head offices to Toronto from Montréal.

Some anglophones challenged the language laws in the courts with varying degrees of success. As a result, the law has softened somewhat. People can again use French or English in Québec's legislature and courts. Children who have been educated in English elsewhere in Canada before moving to Québec can continue their schooling in English. And as long as French predominates on commercial signs, English and other languages are permitted. But in general, the courts confirmed Québec's right to protect the French language.

Figure 3-11 Percentage of Population Speaking French at Home, 1971 and 2001

Year	Québec	Canada not including Québec	Alberta
1971	80.8%	4.3%	1.4%
2001	82.2%	3.0%	1.0%

Source: Statistics Canada, 1971 and 2001 Census

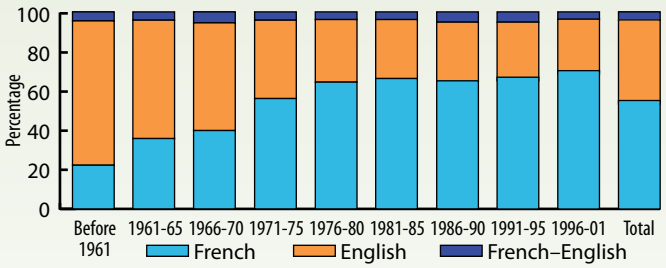
Bill 101 and Québec Francophones

In the years before Bill 101 was passed, Québec had experienced significant social, political, and economic reforms known as the "Quiet Revolution." During the 1960s and 1970s, Québec modernized its education system, improved social programs, and tried to promote Québécois-owned businesses. These changes meant that Québec Francophones could work in French in a wider range of jobs.

The Quiet Revolution also changed Québec from a largely rural, religion-focused French-speaking society into a modern, urban, industrial, and secular — non-religious — French-speaking society. Bill 101 supported this transformation by ensuring that French would be the usual language of government, workplaces, education, communications, and business.

Some of the Francophone Québécois who benefited from the changes became increasingly reluctant to consider separation from Canada. They feared that the upheaval would threaten their newfound economic success. In 2006, for example, a poll of Québécois found that support for remaining in Canada had risen since the 1995 sovereignty referendum. Fifty-eight per cent of respondents said they would vote to keep Québec in Canada. They wanted their politicians to work on behalf of Québécois, but within the framework of the Canadian nation-state.

Figure 3-12 Tendency of Allophone* Immigrants to Use French or English or Both at Home, by Period of Immigration, Québec, 2001



Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Census

* Allophone: An immigrant whose first language is neither French nor English.

Explorations

1. Examine Figures 3-11 and 3-12. What trends do you see? How do you think Bill 101 may have influenced these trends?
2. In recent years, some Francophone Québécois parents have tried to persuade the courts to rule that Québec must provide more English-language education in the province's schools. And some have even tried to enrol their children in English-language schools. As of 2008, their efforts had been unsuccessful. What do you think these parents might be hoping to achieve? Why would they have been hoping to achieve this?

Analyzing Information from Many Sources

FOCUS ON SKILLS

In 2007, on the 30th anniversary of the passage of Bill 101, the *Montreal Gazette* published Robert Libman's comments on Québec's language laws. An anglophone Québécois, Libman helped found the Equality Party, which promoted using French and English equally. He said that the language laws have devastated Québec's English-speaking community. The following excerpt discusses how he believes the law has affected Montréal:

> In the 1970s, Montreal was Canada's most populous city, the country's head office capital, and the economic hub of our nation. Radio great Ted Tevan called us the City of Champions with Montreal sports teams thriving in their respective leagues. But today, Montreal's economy does not even compete in the same league as Toronto. We lag behind other Canadian cities as well, due in no small measure to one of the largest population displacements in North American history. Montreal has lost hundreds of thousands of people, young educated college and university graduates, taxpayers, property owners, tenants and consumers.

Libman's comments present one view of how Bill 101 has affected nationalist loyalties. But if you wished to explore this topic more deeply, you would also need to analyze a broader range of sources. The following steps can help you do this.

Steps to Analyzing Information from Many Sources

Step 1: Consider many points of view and perspectives

With a partner, examine various aspects of the issue and list people it might affect. On the basis of this list, create a list of sources you could consult to gather a wide range of points of view and perspectives. You might begin with a general source, such as *Exploring Nationalism*, to develop an overview of the topic. What other sources might you explore?

Step 2: Analyze sources by assessing their authority and validity

A chart like the one on this page can help you analyze sources by using criteria to assess the authority and validity of the information. With your partner, examine the questions on the chart and discuss how your response to each might affect your judgment of a source's authority and validity.

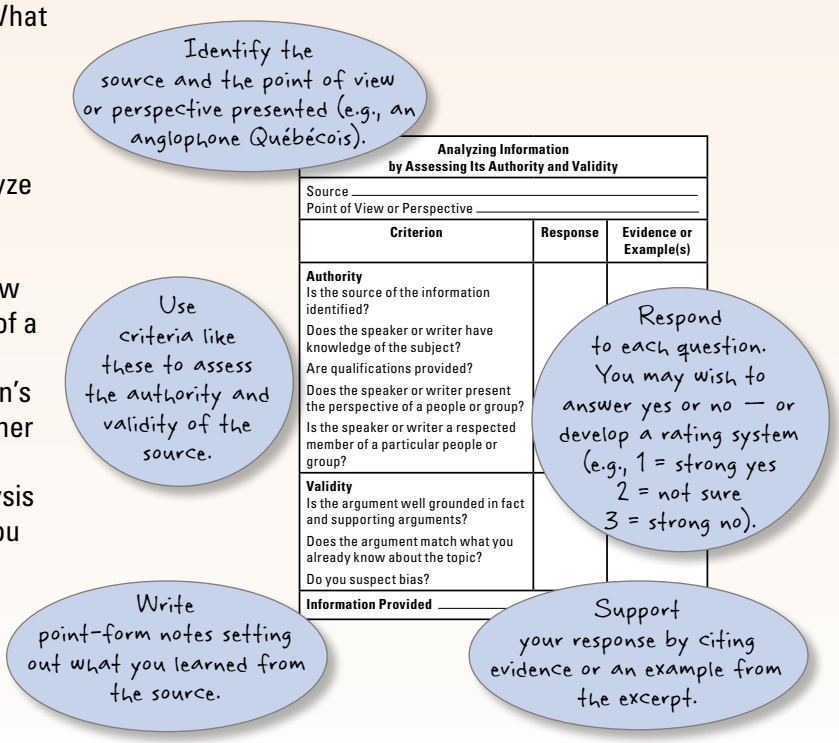
With your partner, reread the excerpt from Libman's comments at the beginning of this page. Work together to fill in a chart analyzing his views.

When you finish, discuss and compare your analysis with that of another pair. Revise your responses if you believe this is justified.

Then, with your partner, read the excerpts on the following page and fill out a similar chart for each.

Step 3: Select the most authoritative sources

With your partner, rank your assessments from most to least authoritative and valid. Discuss and compare your ranking with those of another pair. Revise your rankings if you believe this is justified. Compare your rankings with those of other groups. Once again, revise your rankings if necessary.


Identify the source and the point of view or perspective presented (e.g., an anglophone Québécois).
Use criteria like these to assess the authority and validity of the source.
Respond to each question. You may wish to answer yes or no — or develop a rating system (e.g., 1 = strong yes 2 = not sure 3 = strong no).
Write point-form notes setting out what you learned from the source.
Support your response by citing evidence or an example from the excerpt.
Analyzing Information by Assessing Its Authority and Validity
Source
Point of View or Perspective
Criterion
Response
Evidence or Example(s)
Authority
Is the source of the information identified?
Does the speaker or writer have knowledge of the subject?
Are qualifications provided?
Does the speaker or writer present the perspective of a people or group?
Is the speaker or writer a respected member of a particular people or group?
Validity
Is the argument well grounded in fact and supporting arguments?
Does the argument match what you already know about the topic?
Do you suspect bias?
Information Provided

Excerpt 1 — From a 1988 decision of the Supreme Court of Canada on a challenge to Bill 101

In the period prior to the enactment of the legislation at issue, the *"visage linguistique"* [language face] of Québec often gave the impression that English had become as significant as French. This *"visage linguistique"* reinforced the concern among francophones that English was gaining in importance, that the French language was threatened and that it would ultimately disappear. It strongly suggested to young and ambitious francophones that the language of success was almost exclusively English. It confirmed to anglophones that there was no great need to learn the majority language. And it suggested to immigrants that the prudent course lay in joining the anglophone community.

Excerpt 2 — From a *Montreal Gazette* article by André Burelle, a former constitutional adviser to the governments of Pierre Trudeau and Brian Mulroney

Those who oppose legislation to protect a language in public life must acknowledge that absolute freedom of choice is another way of saying that the strongest will prevail and English would have a monopoly in North America. According to the highest court in Switzerland, freedom of language under the Swiss constitution is compatible with a law of the Zurich canton that forbids francophone parents from sending their children to private French schools and makes it compulsory to send them to German public schools. Even in the United States, California has recently adopted a proposal that forbids bilingual teaching (English–Spanish) in public schools in order to favour a quicker integration of Spanish immigrants.

If these practices are seen as necessary and legitimate in liberal countries such as Switzerland and the United States, how could Bill 101 be condemned in Quebec, where French is a threatened language?

Excerpt 3 — From the manifesto of the Mouvement Québec français, an umbrella group founded in 1970 to protect the French language

All nations wish to live in their language. So does Québec wish to live in French. That is what our ancestors wanted. And this is what we wish for ourselves. That is what those who will come after us will also want . . .

What is happening presently under our eyes, and on our territory, is the fight that opposes one of the most threatened nations to one of the most ambitious giants of History who, not satisfied to have established its language on its territory, is actively seeking to spread it everywhere, around us and even among us . . .

The time is ripe. We must act, and do it immediately. The Mouvement Québec français invites us all to answer the call of our language, regardless of our origins, our particular links, of our class.

Excerpt 4 — From a 1982 letter by Eric M. Maldoff, president of Alliance Quebec, an umbrella group of Québec anglophone organizations, to Québec premier René Lévesque

Camille Laurin, when promoting Bill 101, [said] that commercial signs should mirror Quebec society. As we have told you on so many previous occasions, we can only conclude that your vision of Quebec society is gravely distorted. Where do [anglophones] appear in your mirror? The legislation renders us invisible, which is unacceptable. The signs law is a symbol of the greatest importance to the English-speaking community of Quebec. It casts doubt on our legitimacy and raises questions concerning our right to be present, our right to be visible, our right to receive services in our language, and our right to communicate with each other. There is ample justification for fearing that there may be a "dark plot to put down the anglophones."

Summing Up

As you progress through this course, you will encounter many opportunities to analyze information from a variety of sources. Following the steps in this feature can help you do this.

How have people reconciled contending nationalist loyalties?

Reconciling can mean coming to terms with the past or mending a broken relationship. When two friends have a serious disagreement, an act of **reconciliation** can help resolve their differences and bring them together again. Similarly, when peoples or nations disagree, or when their nationalist loyalties lead them to pursue contending goals, an attitude of reconciliation can bring them together and enable them to coexist in peace.

But when two contending nations cannot achieve reconciliation, the outcome can be serious. The inability to resolve differences may lead to damaging political struggles and even outright war.

Aboriginal Peoples in Canada

For decades, Canadian governments tried to force First Nations, Inuit, and Métis to abandon their culture and traditions and to assimilate into mainstream society. Over the past decades, this policy has changed, as governments have recognized Aboriginal and treaty rights. But although these rights are now enshrined in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, many First Nations, Inuit, and Métis continue to face an uphill struggle in their quest to control their own destiny.

The Oka Crisis

In 1990, a group of Mohawks on the Kanesatake reserve, near the Québec village of Oka, set up a roadblock and a camp in nearby woods. Their goal was to stop the expansion of a golf course onto land the Mohawks claimed as their own and considered sacred. The Québec government refused to talk to the protesters while the roadblock was in place — and the protesters refused to remove the barricade. This standoff went on for four months.

Then, on July 11, the Sureté du Québec, Québec's provincial police force, was ordered to disperse the protesters. Shots were fired and a police officer was killed.

The violence made national — and international — headlines. Other First Nations set up their own barricades to support the protest. As the crisis deepened, the Québec government called in the army. More than 2500 Canadian soldiers moved in and gradually began to cut off the protesters' communications with the outside world. The protest finally ended on September 26.

Many protesters faced criminal charges, but nearly all were found not guilty. Although the federal government later bought the disputed land and transferred ownership to the Mohawks, the crisis left a legacy of bitterness among the people of Kanesatake and other Aboriginal people.

Create a list of the stakeholders in the Oka crisis. What contending nationalist loyalties divided them?

Voices

Self-determination is a right which belongs to peoples. It does not belong to states. It is a right of all peoples. It is universal and non-divisible; that is, either you have it or you do not. It is not a right that is given to peoples by someone else. Please understand, you may have to fight to exercise this right, but you do not negotiate for the right of self-determination because it is yours already.

— Matthew Coon Come, Cree leader and former national chief of the Assembly of First Nations, in documents filed with the UN Commission on Human Rights, 1992

Figure 3-13 Oka and Kanesatake

Figure 3-14 This famous photograph is one of the most enduring images of the Oka crisis. It shows Canadian soldier Patrick Cloutier nose to nose with masked protester Brad Larocque. What ideas make this picture so powerful? What contending loyalties are displayed?

The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples

The Oka crisis was a wakeup call for the federal government, and in 1991, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney responded by setting up the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. Mulroney appointed four Aboriginal and three non-Aboriginal people to sit on the commission, which was chaired by Georges Erasmus, a former national chief of the Assembly of First Nations, and Justice René Dussault of the Québec Appeal Court. The commissioners' goal was to answer this question: What are the foundations of a fair and honourable relationship between the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people of Canada?

The commissioners listened to more than 2000 people, visited 96 communities, talked to numerous experts, and reviewed mountains of research before publishing their groundbreaking five-volume report in 1996.

Titled *People to People, Nation to Nation*, the report condemned the treatment of Aboriginal peoples and summed up the commissioners' main conclusion with these words: "The main policy direction, pursued for more than 150 years, first by colonial then by Canadian governments, has been wrong."

The report urged Canadians to view First Nations, Inuit, and Métis in a radically different way — as nations with a right to govern themselves in partnership with Canada. It said:

> [Aboriginal peoples] are political and cultural groups with values and lifeways distinct from those of other Canadians. They lived as nations – highly centralized, loosely federated, or small and clan-based – for thousands of years before the arrival of Europeans. As nations, they forged trade and military alliances among themselves and with the new arrivals. To this day, Aboriginal people's sense of confidence and well-being as individuals remains tied to the strength of their nations. Only as members of restored nations can they reach their potential in the twenty-first century.

FYI

A **royal commission** is an important tool used by governments to deal with complicated issues. It is an independent public inquiry established to examine an issue, hear testimony from people involved, and recommend ways of coming to a resolution. Although royal commissions make recommendations, governments are not required to follow them.

Web Connection

To read more of *People to People, Nation to Nation*, go to this web site and follow the links.

www.ExploringNationalism.ca

Statement of Reconciliation

The findings of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples led the federal government to issue a Statement of Reconciliation in 1998. This document expressed regret for Canada's history of suppressing Aboriginal culture and values and weakening the identity of Aboriginal peoples. "We must recognize the impact of these actions on the once self-sustaining nations that were disaggregated [broken up], disrupted, limited or even destroyed by the dispossession of traditional territory, by the relocation of Aboriginal people, and by some provisions of the Indian Act," the statement said. "We must acknowledge that the result of these actions was the erosion of the political, economic and social systems of Aboriginal people and nations."

Aboriginal people reacted to the statement with mixed feelings. Some viewed it as a step forward, but others viewed it as nothing but empty words. Can a statement like this be an important part of the reconciliation process? Can it have a negative effect?

VOICES

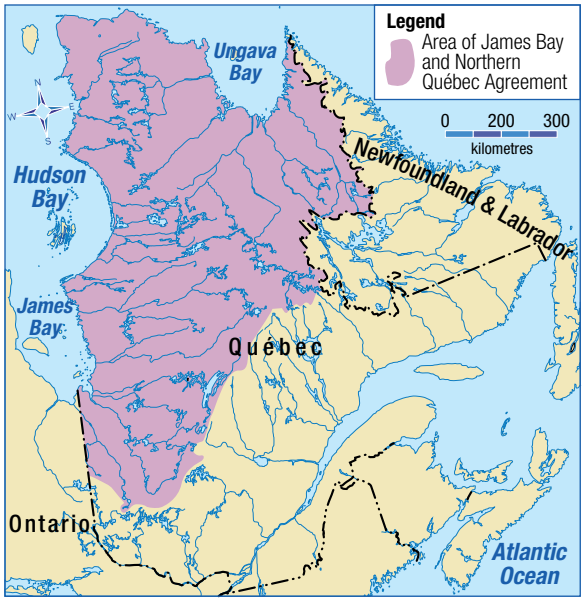
Against the backdrop of these historical legacies, it is a remarkable tribute to the strength and endurance of Aboriginal people that they have maintained their historic diversity and identity.

— Canadian government, Statement of Reconciliation, 1998

Land Claims

The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples identified the use and control of land as the source of "the most intense conflicts between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people." The commission called on the government to change its approach to Aboriginal land claims.

Figure 3-15 James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement



Settling land claims has always been a long, involved process. The timeline in Figure 3-16 shows how long it can take to settle just one claim — and what can happen even after agreement is reached. The James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement of 1975 was the first modern comprehensive land-claim settlement in Canada. Since then, a few other claims have been settled. But by late 2007, about 800 remained unresolved.

On June 29, 2007, the Assembly of First Nations organized the National Day of Action to highlight various issues, including outstanding claims. On that day, Phil Fontaine, national chief of the AFN, told an Ottawa audience that First Nations are fed up with the slow pace of negotiations. "Since the first treaty was signed with us in 1701, our peoples have believed that co-operation must pave the way to progress," Fontaine said. "We like to believe that all Canadians feel this way. Consider where that attitude has gotten us. Obviously, not very far."

First Nations are losing patience, Fontaine added. "Many of our communities have reached the breaking point . . . People are so tired and fed up with this type of existence — especially when all around them is a better life . . . and hope. Living without hope is perhaps the worst aspect of life for so many of Canada's First Nations peoples. That lack of hope plays out in many ways. Desperation breeds abuse, suicide, crime, civil disobedience."

Think about the Oka crisis, the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, the government's Statement of Reconciliation, and land claims. With a partner, create a T-chart. In the first column, show each event or issue. In the second column, rate whether the event or issue helped or hindered Aboriginal peoples' attempts to reconcile contending nationalist loyalties. Include an explanation of the rating scale you used.

Figure 3-16 James Bay — The Road to Settlement

TIME IMMEMORIAL	1971	1973	1975	1989	2002	2007
Cree and Inuit inhabit the lands east of Hudson Bay and James Bay.	Québec premier Robert Bourassa announces the James Bay Project, which will involve building huge power-generating dams on northern Québec rivers.	Cree Nation takes Québec government to court because dams will flood land in their traditional territory and destroy their traditional way of life.	Lawsuit forces Québec and federal governments to bargaining table. With the Cree and Inuit, they hammer out the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement, covering about 350 000 square kilometres.	Cree take Québec government to court again, claiming that neither Québec nor the federal government is keeping its part of the bargain.	Québec government and Cree agree to share responsibility for and revenues from hydro development on Cree lands.	Federal government settles with Cree Regional Authority, which will take on more responsibility for self-government while the government pays for building necessary infrastructure.

THE VIEW FROM HERE

Most demonstrations on the 2007 National Day of Action were peaceful. But in Ontario, a group of Mohawks from the Tyendinaga reserve, between Toronto and Kingston, blocked CN's main rail line and shut down Highway 401. The next day, a *Globe and Mail* editorial pointed out that this was the action people would recall. "Many Canadians will simply remember that . . . a portion of the nation's busiest highway was closed for hours and passenger rail service from Toronto to Ottawa and Montreal was suspended." Here is how several First Nations people viewed the effectiveness of the day's events.

Shawn Brant, who organized the blockade in Ontario, is a member of the Bay of Quinte Mohawks. He made the following comments in a CBC interview.

> We feel it's only been through these type of actions that First Nations issues have been made a priority for Canadians and have elevated it in priorities for this government. We'll continue to push this button as long as we have outstanding issues and we'll continue to do it until there's some results . . .
>
> There's about $118 million a day in freight that passes down this train line [between Toronto and Montréal] and there's a great deal of commerce that travels down the 401, so I guess if we're evaluating on a monetary sense . . . certainly we've been successful in our campaign.

Marilyn Jensen of the Carcross Tagish First Nation in Yukon is a director, producer, singer, and dancer with First Peoples Performances. Jensen helped organize a peaceful rally in Carcross, but told the CBC that she understands why some First Nations communities felt the need to be more confrontational.

> I wouldn't really say direct action is always an ugly thing. Sometimes it needs to happen so people will hear, so people will notice. All I know is that myself and the group that I am working with, we've planned a peaceful protest. We know that we live here with other people and we respect that. We respect the goings-on in our community and we respect other people, so we're keeping our demonstration, our protest peaceful.

Doug Cuthand, a member of the Little Pine First Nation in Saskatchewan, is a filmmaker, writer, and journalist. In his column in the *Regina Leader-Post*, he warned against interpreting the largely peaceful gatherings as a sign that everything is fine.

> Why the lack of civil disobedience? It's not as if we don't care or aren't upset with our lot within Canada.
>
> It's because we are Canadians and we are a part of a national culture of negotiation and the respect of law . . .
>
> In Saskatchewan we grew up with the knowledge that we have a special agreement with the Crown and, by extension, Canada. The numbered treaties were negotiated in the late 1800s and they called for a partnership and the tools to develop strong communities in the future.
>
> In the beginning we saw ourselves as partners with Canada. The fact that everything went sideways in the treaty implementation only made our leaders all the more adamant that the treaties be recognized.
>
> But don't confuse our orderly conduct as a sign that things are fine. Things are not fine, and we have serious problems after over a century of colonialism and failed promises.

Explorations

1. Think about each speaker's words in the context of reconciling contending nationalist loyalties. What clues can you find in the speaker's words to reveal his or her attitude toward the importance of reconciling nationalist loyalties?
2. Do you think the use of force helps or hurts the reconciliation process?
3. How important is it to achieve reconciliation between contending nationalist loyalties within Canadian society? Explain your response.

1. In Chapter 1, you explored various ideas about ethnic and civic nationalism (pp. 30–33). Choose a nation mentioned in this chapter and explain whether you think the contending loyalties felt by people illustrate civic or ethnic nationalism. Support your opinion by citing evidence.
2. "The Maple Leaf Forever," which was written by Scottish-born Alexander Muir, was wildly popular with Canadians of British heritage from 1867, when it was written, until the mid-20th century. During that time, this song was often described as Canada's unofficial national anthem.

The Maple Leaf Forever

In days of yore, from Britain's shore,
Wolfe, the dauntless hero came,
And planted firm Britannia's flag,
On Canada's fair domain.
Here may it wave, our boast, our pride,
And join in love together,
The thistle, shamrock, rose* entwine
The Maple Leaf forever!

Chorus

The Maple Leaf, our emblem dear,
The Maple Leaf forever!
God save our Queen, and Heaven bless,
The Maple Leaf forever!

* The thistle is an emblem of Scotland; the shamrock is an emblem of Ireland; and the rose is an emblem of England.

a) Examine the first verse and chorus of "The Maple Leaf Forever." Whose loyalties were affirmed by this song? Whose loyalties were ignored? How might this song have strengthened contending nationalist loyalties?

b) At one time, many people were in favour of making "The Maple Leaf Forever" Canada's national anthem. This began to change in the mid-20th century as Canada became more culturally diverse. "O Canada" was proclaimed Canada's national anthem in 1980. With a partner, list two arguments in favour of making "The Maple Leaf Forever" the national anthem. List two arguments against. Be sure that at least one of your arguments mentions contending nationalist loyalties.

3. Examine the following cartoon. Created by Peter Kuch in 1977, it takes a lighthearted look at what might happen when an Inuk in northern Québec tries to obey the new French-language laws by issuing French commands to his sled dogs.

Figure 3-17

Vite, vite, vite. Peter Kuch, 1977. M999.66.19. McCord Museum of Canadian History, Montréal.

Then read the following statement, which expresses the response to Bill 101 of a group of Inuit who live on Hudson Bay in northern Québec.

> We, the Esquimo, have a distinct culture and language, and like all other people, we are convinced that it belongs to us and to us alone to defend our culture. We . . . want the same chances as the Québécois to take the necessary measures to protect our language. And like the Québécois, we do not want the responsibility and the task of passing laws concerning our language and our culture to belong to anyone but ourselves.

a) What do the cartoon and the statement say about how Bill 101 affected the way the Inuit of northern Québec viewed nationalist loyalties?

b) How might the perspectives on nationalist loyalties of the Inuit of northern Québec conflict with the nationalist loyalties of sovereignist Québécois?

c) Write a brief statement explaining whether you think Canadian government policies, such as multiculturalism, and laws, such as the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, help reconcile these contending loyalties. In your statement, include evidence to support your opinion.

Figure 3-18

4. The Inuk in this picture was photographed in 1945 at Mittimatalik/Tununiq, Nunavut. She is holding a board on which her personal number (see p. 71) has been written in chalk. The picture of this young woman was just one of thousands taken by whalers, missionaries, RCMP officers, and other people between the late 1800s and the mid-20th century.

   Many of these photographs are now part of the collection of Library and Archives Canada, but the people shown in the photos remain largely unidentified. Elders, students, families, teachers, and governments are now trying to identify these people through Project Naming (see p. 70).

   Conduct Internet research to find out more about Project Naming. Then write a brief report that sets out
   - the people involved
   - the goals of the project
   - the tasks involved

   Conclude your report by explaining how Project Naming affirms nationalist loyalties and by rating the importance of this project in helping the Inuit reconcile their contending loyalties.

5. Create an inventory of nationalist symbols, events, or activities you encounter over the course of a week. Record your observations on a chart like the one shown on this page. Do not repeat symbols, events, or activities you encounter every day. If, for example, you see the Canadian flag flying outside your school every morning, list this only once. The chart includes some examples to help you get started.

   At the end of the week, write a few sentences that express your feelings about the nationalist symbols and activities you encountered. Were you surprised, for example, by how many you encountered? By how few? Were you comfortable with the number or kinds of symbols you encountered? Were you uncomfortable? Why?

DAY	SYMBOL, EVENT, OR ACTIVITY
Wednesday	Canadian flag at school Sang "O Canada" to start the school day Went to Ukrainian language class Passed framed copy of Charter of Rights and Freedoms at the front door of school
Thursday	

Think about Your Challenge

The challenge for this related issue asks you to create a coat of arms that represents your response to the related-issue question: To what extent should nation be the foundation of identity?

Identify a nationalist loyalty that might contend with one of your loyalties. Think of a symbol or other graphic that you could incorporate into your coat of arms to represent your feelings about reconciling these contending loyalties. Sketch your idea and explain its significance to a partner. You may or may not wish to include this symbol in your final coat of arms.